2: Schaden--77 E-4, 5 (1948-1954)1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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Chapter V

Individual and Family

1. Childhood and the formation of the personality

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[858] The Guaraní child is characterized by a remarkable spirit of independence. To the extent that his physical development and mental experience allow, he participates in the life, the activities, and the problems of the adults. It is understandable that such might prove to be true in epochs prior to accelerated acculturation, in which there was great cultural stability in the tempo and fixity of patterns, a state of affairs in which the conflict between the generations would be practically null. As the phenomenon persists, unaltered, through all the phases of the acculturative process, it reflects a fundamental or essential trait of the Guaraní culture that shows itself constant as long as the latter is able to exist. Such a characteristic is respect for the human personality and the notion that it develops independently and freely in each individual, without there being any possibility of interfering in any decisive manner in the process. As far as the psychic and moral development of the person is concerned, the Guaraní does not believe at all in the utility and efficacy of educational methods, aside from exceptional ones or by magical means. [855] Treated like adults, Guaraní children are more frank and less retiring than they are, when in contact with foreigners.

It happens that children, even those of a very young age, stay alone in the house all day long, when the father is hunting or goes "to look at the traps" in the forest, and the mother is working on some distant clearing. [857] The little ones spend as they please the money that they receive as alms on the occasion of the journeys on which they accompany their parents to São Paulo or some other city. This and many similar facts characterize the atmosphere in which the child develops, breeding in it a feeling of autonomy and independence /68/ which cannot but lead it to a behavior in many senses identical to that of its parents.

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857 155 This in part explains the fact that there is almost no Guaraní childish culture. There are few games that are not reduced to an imitation of the adults' activities. The Mbüá boy already at the age of three begins to practice the handling of the bow and arrow (1);

524 411 1. /The notes for Ch. V appear on p. 84 in the original source./ Some bows and arrows of childish type, acquired among the Mbüá of Rio Branco and given to the Cadeira de Psicologia Educacional /Chair of Educational Psychology/ (Universidad de São Paulo), are half as long as the weapons of the adults, being made of the same material. The bows, of biconvex cut, are strung with embira and adorned with plaiting of mbopará type (taquara /a very strong cane/ and imbé) in traditional patterns; the arrows, with points of monkey bone (káiguasú) or of brejaúba, the black wood out of which the arrow of the adults is also made, are not provided with barbs, but display the common feathering. -- In the coastal villages, these childish weapons underwent a functional change, no longer being made today for the training of the new generation, but for commerce; many purchasers (tourists) preferring them because of the greater ease of transport.

[178] [439]

857 155 he also constructs his little traps of bamboo /Port. jiçara/ early. Among the Mbüá of Palmeirinha, I saw children play at being hunter and game, the game finally caught in the noose. The Mbüá of Rio Branco have adopted a game of cards, bisca /a game of cards played in Portugal/; men and small boys take part in it indiscriminantly.

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59 /80 cont./ But at the time
241 of the djakairápéky, the "green maize," the first crops of the
[612] clearings of not only the kindred, but the whole village are
[192] "baptized" together in the great-house. In turn, each of the
[574] elementary families of the house of Chiquinho contributes for the chicha, and, according to the "Kayová system," the "guests" who come to take part in the celebration are taken to the clearings in order to offer them some of what is there.
[606] The /81/ sons-in-law, says Chiquinho, work in his clearings, but the chief, in turn, helps in the clearings of his sons-in-law.
[433] On the occasion of my last visit to the village, in 1950, Paí
[114] Chiquinho's clearing yielded about 1,400 hands of maize (1 hand -- 15 bundles of 4 ears); that of his son, about 300, and
[476] that of each son-in-law as much again. The disproportion stemmed less from the services rendered by the sons-in-law than from the puxirões /co-operative work parties/ that the chief of the kindred had held on the occasion of the chicha celebra-
592 tions. -- In Paí Chiquinho's house each couple has its own kitchen; but when one of the elementary families has something special in the pot -- beef, for instance -- it is customary to send small pieces to all the others.

• 867 From an early age the children of both sexes help their parents, whether in the clearing or in the domestic work. The girls, for example, carry water and care for their smaller brothers and sisters, while the boys work in the clearing or take home the products that are needed.

462 It is not long before one of the characteristic traits of the situation of the adults, at least in the villages of southern Mato Grosso, appears in the economic behavior of the children. It
[177] refers to the sexual division of labor within the family, quite transformed, incidentally, as a consequence of the acculturative effects of the contacts. The woman does not practice earning money, whereas for the man his capacity for work and production is a source of pecuniary means nowadays considered indispensable for the existence of the group. The children's attitudes already
857 conform to this distinction. From eight to ten years old, more or
868 less, the boy passes through a period of what might be called an

2: Schaden--97 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/81 cont./

apprenticeship: he accompanies his father in hunting, in the collection of honey, and in other activities, also learning, under paternal orientation, the technique of plaiting and the manufacture of the most diverse artifacts. Spontaneously -- and less through the initiative of his parents, contrary to what Virginia Drew Watson observed among the Kayová of the village of Taquapiri -- the boy makes his own clearing and, not infrequently, sells the produce; with the money he buys some clothing that he needs or some gift for his mother -- a dress to be made up, for example --; nothing for his father. At Francisco Horta it happens that Kayová boys ten years old do changa outside the village. Starting at twelve years of age the Guaraní boy in general begins to show his independence, working only part of the time in his father's clearing, until at about fifteen or sixteen he starts living with his father-in-law, on whose tillage he will have to work much more than the latter's sons. -- In any case the affective bonds that bind the boy to his father are much less stable and lasting than those that tie him /82/ to his mother. Lacking a father, there is little preoccupation about finding a "legal substitute"; the person more often indicated, however, is the paternal uncle.

Concerning the economic relations, the married son becomes practically a stranger with regard to his father, except in the unusual case of continuing to live with him in the same great-family. At Francisco Horta I once observed how old Paí Tomás left his home to work on the clearing of his married son, who lived some two kilometers away; the old man had taken the work on the clearing as work for a price, for which he would be paid like any other worker. It is an extreme example, which contrasts with the other one, that of Paí Chiquinho at Panambi, whose married son lives with his father and, although he has his own clearing, is part of the same great-family.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

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FIG. 16. Mother and son just before noon meal. Note metal cooking tripod and iron pots, trade goods. Boy has toy bow and arrows.

FIG. 17. Nursing child and siblings. (Older boy's face is only dirty.)

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FIG. 19. Small boy getting drink from cup, water from gourd in left hand. Corner of house with bamboo "boards" is at right rear.

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FIG. 20. Young recent initiate wearing *iembotá* ("lip stone") of hardened resin. He was one of about five boys to be initiated just prior to our arrival at Taquapiri in 1943.

FIG. 18. Group of small-fry at play. The little girls all wore clothed.

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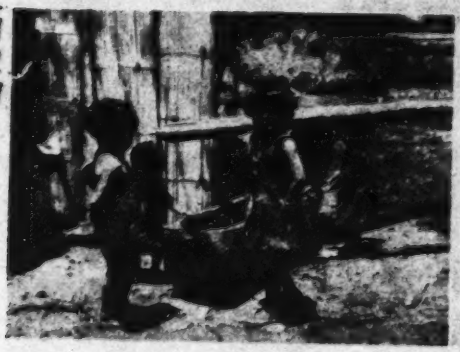

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

or covered with a basketry sheath in the center. A small bulge at each end made of wrapped bark strips prevents the fiber bowstring from slipping. Archers wear wrist guards of human hair or of cotton (*Chiripá*). The main types of arrowheads found in the tropical area are used by the *Caingua:* Lanceolate taquara heads; tapering sticks, plain or barbed on one or both sides; and conical wooden plugs for stunning birds.

The war arrows of the ancient *Guarani* were often tipped with human bones.

The arrow shafts are made either of the native tacuati reed (*Merostachys argyronema*) or more commonly of the imported tacuapi, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*).

The feathering is of the Eastern Brazilian, or arched type. The pellet-bow is widely used by young *Caingua* boys to shoot birds or small rodents.[8] The missiles are small clay pellets.

Caingua clubs are either swordlike with cutting edges or plain sticks with a square cross section and a basketry sheath around the handle. Sometimes they taper into a point. The *Guarani* were acquainted with the sling but found little use for it in their forested habitat.

The *Guarani* warriors whom the Spaniards fought in the 16th century carried shields, often decorated with feathers. This defensive weapon has not been reported since the 17th century.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Among the ancient *Guarani*, the social unit was probably the large extended patrilineal family—perhaps the sib. Sometimes as many as 60 families lived under the same roof. Each community had a chief, but the actual power was often in the hands of a shaman. Many of the great *Guarani* leaders who resisted the Spaniards in the 17th century were shamans endowed with divine prestige. Some ancient chiefs extended their influence over a fairly wide area. A general council of chiefs and adult men decided community and district affairs and elected war chiefs who commanded obedience during expeditions.

All *Apapocuva-Guarani* chiefs, for at least a hundred years, have been shamans who have reached the highest rank within their profession. Like the ancient chiefs, they have been credited with supernatural power and with miracles performed on behalf of their people.

A *Guarani* chief was succeeded by his eldest son unless there was some stronger member of the family. However, an eloquent man distinguished in warfare might become chief. Persons dissatisfied with their headman might secede and start a new settlement under another leader. Chiefs of *Caingua* communities in Paraguay have a Spanish title and carry a stick as symbol of their office. Fifty years ago, a few villages were administered as in Jesuit times, by a cacique mayor and cacique menor, a sargento, and

[8] For a good description of the *Guarani* pellet-bow, see Azara, 1809, 2:67.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

The Caingua of Paraguay inter the corpse in the bush and build a miniature hut on the grave. They burn the dead man's house and sometimes the whole settlement. For a short time they bring food to the grave and keep a fire burning upon it. Secondary interment is reported for the *Mbyá* chiefs. A dead person's name is taboo.

As among the *Tupinamba*, visitors and members of the community were received with tears and expressions of sorrow. These manifestations of grief took place probably only if somebody in the village had died. (See Etiquette, p. 86.)

According to the *Apapocuva*, after death a soul first attempts to reach the Land-Without-Evil where "Our Mother" resides, but even if it passes the demon Anãy unscathed, other souls may detain it until its reincarnation. Those who have suffered a violent death or leave behind a beloved person or have been frustrated and are reluctant to go to the hereafter, are likely to haunt the familiar places of life until they are expelled or are reincarnated in a newborn baby. Children's souls are the only ones that can easily reach the Land-Without-Evil (Nimuendajú, 1914 a).

CANNIBALISM

Cannibalism, although never attributed to modern *Caingua*, was an honored practice among the ancient *Guarani*. Its ritual seems to have been the same as among the *Tupinamba* (p. 119). The prisoner was well treated and was given a wife; but finally, after many months and even many years of captivity, he was ceremonially sacrificed on the village plaza. Like the *Tupinamba*, the *Guarani* prisoner pelted his tormentors with stones and boasted of his great deeds and of those of his people. Children were urged to crush the victim's skull with small copper axes and to dip their hands in his blood, while they were reminded of their duties as future warriors. According to Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 51), everyone who touched the corpse with his hand or with a stick and everyone who ate a morsel of it assumed a new name.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—Decorative art among the *Caingua* is limited to the simple geometrical patterns of basketry work, and to the motifs painted on pottery, incised or burned on gourds. Lozenges are one of the favorite designs; anthropomorphic or zoomorphic themes are exceptional.

Games and toys.—Small children show certain skill at modeling men or animals of wax, clay, or palm leaves. Their favorite recreations are wrestling, racing, hide-and-seek, tug-of-war, shooting, and dancing. The toys mentioned by our sources are noise-producing tops and buzzing disks.

The ancient *Itatin*, i.e., the *Guarani* north of the Apa River, played